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ABSTRACT

A study was made of the news-interview programs from the three major television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) to determine which aspects of the Vietnam War were discussed on the programs and whether participants were supporters of or detractors from the policies of the presidential administration at the time. The content analysis of 481 editions of "Issues and Answers" (ABC), "Face the Nation" (CBS), and "Meet the Press" (NBC) assessed whether the program was favorable or unfavorable toward continuing the war, the number of supporters (hawks) and opponents (doves) of the war who had participated in the programs, and the general subject categories for news-interview programs. The analysis showed that during the early part of the Vietnam War, when the United States commitment to military action was being made, support for the administration was dominant in news-interview programs. The number of programs favorable to the war and the number of "hawks" on the programs reached peaks before the greatest level of military commitment. However, after about 1968 opponents appeared much more frequently, indicating that the networks followed public opinion in the scheduling of supporters and opponents of the war and of the administration's policies. (HTH)

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NETWORK NEWS-INTERVIEW PROGRAMS AND THE 'TELEVISION WAR'

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NETWORK NEWS-INTERVIEW PROGRAMS AND THE 'TELEVISION WAR'

The United States' military involvement in Southeast Asia was the subject of so many reports on the television networks' nightly news programs that it came to be known as America's first "television war."[1] Several studies have examined nightly news coverage content, but, at this writing, none have given more than a limited consideration to other forms of television news coverage or analysis of the Vietnam war.[2]

Although we examine but a part of the news treatment given to Vietnam by the networks, our analysis, like those cited above, deals with how the war was reported to American television viewers. The utility in analyzing news-interview programs is that here, at least, the network news organizations were about equal. Each presented a similar program on a regular basis. All were normally scheduled on Sunday, within an hour of the others and, usually, they originated from Washington, D.C. Consequently, the same pool of potential guests was available to all.

ABC's Issues and Answers, CBS's Face the Nation and NBC's Meet the Press, then, offered potential forums for proponents and opponents of administration policies on the war. Each program featured a panel of representatives of major national news organizations that directed questions at a guest, who usually appeared on the program alone.

Adams and Ferber note that news-interview programs offer an opportunity for unrehearsed and unedited extended discussions with public

figures. They also point out that the political elite in the nation's capital regularly watch, along with audiences estimated at about six million for Meet the Press, four million for Face the Nation and three million for Issues and Answers.[3]

Whether the programs were watched by large audiences is not as important as the fact that excerpts were often included in news reports broadcast as a part of the network evening news programs. When a guest made an important statement, it was often repeated on all three networks during more widely attended news programs. As important, other news mediums often quoted the guests. Marvin Barrett notes that

> It was a rare Monday when at least one of the Sunday-afternoon network press-interview shows did not make the front pages of leading newspapers. 'Issues and Answers' and 'Face the Nation' both reported 100 percent pick-up of items from their weekly shows in the nation's press, with 'Issues and Answers' claiming that 35 out of 48 of their shows got front-page space in the New York Times, and 'Face the Nation' claiming all 52 on page one or two.[4]

Yet another consideration, aside from the attention paid these programs, is their overall objectivity. For example, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., in a memorandum written in 1971, before his nomination to the Supreme Court,

recommended that such forum-type programs as Meet the Press "'. . . afford as much opportunity for supporters of the American system to participate as for those who attack it.'"[5] Furthermore, there have been attempts to "keep score" on the balance of ideologies represented by persons appearing on the news-interview programs. Barrett observed that, between September 1969 and May 1970, there was a narrow margin of advantage in the number of appearances given Republicans compared with the number given Democrats.[6] Adams and Ferber broached the question somewhat differently, asking which politicians and occupations secured the greatest coverage in network news-interview programs, and whether partisan and ideological bias was present in the selection of guests. They determined that, between 1965 and 1974, there was neither complete balance nor extremes in bias. Instead, the networks tended to select the more liberal Senators and Representatives from both parties. Still, they concluded, viewers were likely to obtain an accurate portrayal of the ideological differences between the political parties.[7]

As these observers of news-interview programs have suggested, there appears to have been some lack of neutrality in the selection of participants representing partisan viewpoints. Yet, the importance of news-interview programs in the process of policy debate is clear, especially when considering the long period of time during which the United States was involved in Vietnam. Perhaps more to the point, 481 such programs were found to include at least some discussion of the Vietnam war. This volume of programs raises important questions about how the networks handled these forums for opinion regarding U.S. policy and Vietnam.

Consequently, this study sought to determine what was discussed and which viewpoints were represented by whom. Inherent in this objective is whether sufficient access was provided for the expression of both support and opposition to policies and issues pertaining to the Vietnam war.

News-interview programs that discussed the Vietnam war were identified by examining available transcripts, reviews and news accounts published in newspapers, last-minute announcements of guests scheduled to appear on a particular program as indicated on the front page of the New York Times or by announcers at the end of regularly-scheduled network news programs, and by reviewing lists of participants in news-interview programs released by the networks.

During the period between 1961 and 1979, approximately 2,800 news-interview programs were broadcast. Of these, 481 were identified that featured participants who discussed Vietnam. We did not discriminate in the analysis between broadcasts in which the subject was only briefly discussed versus programs devoted to that single subject.

Analysis

The direction of support for Vietnam war policies was assessed in three ways. First, the overall direction (whether favorable or unfavorable to continuing the war in Vietnam) was determined for each broadcast. A second measure was the status of guests appearing on the programs. If a participant was on record as opposing U.S. involvement or the administration's pursuit of the war, he or she was considered to be a "dove." If the participant supported the continuation of the war or advocated increasing military activity, he or she was classified as a "hawk." Thus, the number of "hawks" and "doves" appearing on news-interview programs identified the number of opportunities given to persons to speak for or against Vietnam policies. Third, general subject categories for news-interview program broadcasts provided some indication of network treatment of the issues related to the war.

Positive and Negative Direction

The direction of a program's tone of favorability toward administration policies is, at best, a tenuous measure, but it is reported here because these data are corroborated by observations of network program support of war policies reported elsewhere in this analysis.

Direction was coded as being neutral unless sufficient detail was available to allow us to determine whether the content was positive or negative. When the participant urged the support of the president and his conduct of the war; asserted that the U.S. was winning, was fighting Communism, that we should be in Southeast Asia, were helping, had the cooperation of the South Vietnamese government; said our presence there was in the U.S. national interest, and the like, the broadcast was considered positive in tone. But when a participant asserted that the U.S. was losing the war, was wrong to be in Southeast Asia, that our presence was hurting the cause of freedom, we were destroying a culture or were aggressors; said being in Southeast Asia was detrimental to U.S. national interests; criticized the South Vietnamese government, and the like, the program was considered negative in tone.

Figure 1 reveals that, until 1969, the overall tone of network news-interview programs was neutral-to-positive. As other figures in this report also indicate, support for the war in news-interview programs peaked early (in the present measure, during 1964). Thereafter, programs tended to be more neutral in overall tone.

FIGURE 1. ABOUT HERE

It was not until 1968 that any news-interview program series actually became

negative in overall tone. The decline in the positive direction of the programs, shown in Figure 1, is similar to the general decline in public support for the Johnson Administration's conduct of the Vietnam war. In 1969, when a new president took office, the overall program tone became more positive, if only for a year. Likewise, public support of the president's handling of the war was greater.[8] During 1971, the tone of news-interview programs broadcast by the three networks dropped to their most negative level. That was, however, the only year in this analysis when all three series were negative in tone.

The variable "direction" or "positive-to-negative tone" of each broadcast was coded on a five point scale where 1 = "most positive" toward the current administration, 3 = "neutral" and 5 = "most negative" toward the administration. On this scale, NBC's Meet the Press was the most neutral of the news-interview program series (2.84). This figure could, however, also be interpreted to mean that the direction of the NBC programs was the most negative of the three series. CBS's Face the Nation was slightly more positive (2.75). The most positive of the three programs was ABC's Issues and Answers (2.54). The ABC series was also the most positive in tone for the longest period of time, between 1963 and 1969. As in measures discussed later, it is interesting to note that Issues and Answers reversed its earlier positive stance in 1970 and continued to be negative toward the war and the administration until 1973. The CBS program maintained a more even fluctuation between positive and negative tone and was actually negative during but one year, 1971. The Meet the Press tone fluctuated much more than that for Face the Nation. It too, had a negative tone during 1971, which was the most negative of any series for any year.

Cantril and Roll found that, in 1971, the American public had made a dramatic shift in its opinion of the war since 1968, when 62 percent of those surveyed wanted to continue the war. In 1971, only 36 percent wanted to fight on, while a substantial majority (55%) wanted to end the war.[9]

Among the events that may account for the negative direction of news-interview programs and the drop in public support for the war in 1971 were Lt. William Calley's court martial for his part in the My Lai massacre. It is also helpful to recall that in the previous year, 1970, four students at Kent State University in Ohio had been killed during a campus protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

In 1971, the Laotion incursion by South Vietnamese troops ended, South Vietnam's President, Nguyen Van Thieu, was reelected to a second term and the Pentagon Papers were released, in June. It seems probable that these and other events crystalized public opinion in 1971, and this attitude was reflected in the negative direction of support manifested in news-interview program participants' statements.

While these observations are inconclusive, they illustrate a pattern that can be more reliably measured by other content attributes. A report on those considerations follows.

"Hawks" and "Doves"

As Figure 2 shows, "hawks," or persons supporting administration policies regarding Vietnam, dominated until the later period of the war. It is especially important to note that, during the earlier years, the number of hawks given access to news-interview programs clearly exceeded appearances by "doves" -- those opposed to the war. In fact, it was not until 1971 that appearances by doves surpassed appearances by hawks.

FIGURE 2. ABOUT HERE

Walter Lippman has asserted that ". . . the press is not constituted to furnish from one edition to the next the amount of knowledge which the democratic theory of public opinion demands."[10] Put another way, Cirino points out that a "fifty-fifty," or mathematical approach is a misunderstood view of "balance." The consumer should be concerned with getting balanced news through the mass media, but should also be interested in whether an open debate on the issues takes place.[11] As that question pertains to this study, we ask whether there was an imbalance in appearances by supporters of and detractors from the Vietnam war policies espoused by various presidential administrations.

The pattern illustrated in Figure 2 shows that appearances by hawks dropped sharply after a peak in 1966. The drop was particularly sharp toward the end of Lyndon Johnson's presidential administration in 1968. Doves, on the other hand, increased their appearances between 1964 and 1968, with a peak during the latter year. However, the number of doves appearing on news-interview programs dropped sharply during 1969, when Richard Nixon assumed office. An examination of the percentage of hawks versus doves appearing during each year shows a steady decline in hawks between 1964 and 1968. There was a rise in the percentage of hawks in 1969, attributable mainly to the drop in appearances by doves, not to any particular increase in appearances by hawks between 1968 and 1969. The "honeymoon period" for the new president ended in 1970, and the number of doves again increased, peaking in 1972.

Over the whole period analyzed, CBS was much more consistent in its scheduling of hawks and doves than the other network news-interview programs ($r = .69$, $p = .003$). While appearances by both hawks and doves were high during the period between 1966 and 1970, the number of appearances by doves did not fluctuate very sharply on CBS as compared with ABC and especially,

NBC news-interview programs. Overall, Issues and Answers maintained the least relationship between the scheduling of hawks and doves ($r = -.14$, $p = .322$, n.s.), but the relationship on Meet the Press was also low ($r = .19$, $p = .258$, n.s.).

As Table 1 shows, the most "hawkish" of the three news-interview programs was ABC's Issues and Answers. Forty seven percent more hawks than doves appeared on that series. The CBS and NBC programs featured a more similar ratio of guests considered to be hawks or doves. Thirty four percent more hawks than doves appeared on Face the Nation; 35 percent more hawks were guests on Meet the Press.

Thus, there was an imbalance in hawks and doves over time, but the appearances by hawks far exceeded those by doves on each network. However, as we shall show, this imbalance can be considered in a different light when the data are analyzed according to phases in the war.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Bailey has identified three major phases in the Vietnam war: From 1960 to 1965, American advisors, equipment and money were supporting the South Vietnamese armed forces. During the period from 1965 to 1970, the fighting was taken over by U.S. troops. From 1970 to 1975, the South Vietnamese took over the fighting as American troops were withdrawn.[12]

With few exceptions, the percentage of hawks appearing on the three news-interview programs during each phase was similar. In the first period, 1960-1964, almost all the programs emphasized hawks over doves (90%). The ABC program was the exception, but the lower percentage is somewhat misleading, as Issues and Answers not only provided a forum for considerably more hawks than either of the others, but also featured more doves between 1960 and 1964.

Still, as data in Table 1 and illustrated in Figure 2 show, the percentage of hawks declined after that first period. During the second phase identified by Bailey, 1966-1970, the percentage of hawks dropped from 90 to 66 percent. The percentages were similar on all three news-interview programs.

During the third phase, between 1971 and 1975, the percentage of hawks dropped even lower, to 41 percent. Interestingly, where ABC had maintained a high percentage of hawks during the first two phases, that network's news-interview program featured the lowest percentage of hawks of the three series during the third period.

The proportion of hawks versus doves, then, declined during the duration of American involvement in the war. It is important to note that the "hawk-ishness" of the news-interview programs was fairly close to U.S. public opinion on the war. While public support for U.S. military involvement in Vietnam fluctuated, it generally declined, especially after 1965. The percentage of hawks appearing on news-interview programs declined steadily during each year after 1964. There was an increase in public support for the war in 1969,[13] that paralleled increases and decreases in public support for the way the president was handling the Vietnam war as noted earlier. There was also an increase in the percentage of hawks appearing on news-interview programs, but both public support and the percentage of hawks declined again after 1969.

Subjects of Programs

The three news-interview programs served frequently as forums for "newsmakers" -- officials seeking to defend or explain administration policies, or opponents who came to criticize these policies. But in many of these broadcasts, discussions included subjects unrelated to the war or, in others, several war-related issues may have been brought up. Consequently,

the "subjects" of many news-interview programs were categorized by identifying and coding those featuring administration spokesmen, administration policy supporters and policy opponents (classified as political and domestic opponents -- an individual would not be considered a political opponent unless he or she had served in a politically elected or appointed capacity. Domestic opponents included war protest movement leaders such as Rev. Daniel Berrigan). Such a classification of a discussion of issues or policies hinged on the position or political status of the guest.

The data in Table 2 show that a majority of the news-interview programs (31%) featured spokesmen for the administration, including White House staff members and officers in the presidential cabinet. In some instances, military officers were guests. These officials represented the views of the current administration, as their status was linked with the president's war policies. Appearances by Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General William Westmoreland or General Wallace Green of the U.S. Marine Corps were typical of these.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Yet another large number of broadcasts (13%) featured political supporters independent of the administration, such as senators, congressmen and former administration officials. Typical of these were the appearances by such Senators as Barry Goldwater and Everett Dirksen. Former Vice President Richard Nixon appeared on several broadcasts preceding his campaign for the presidency in 1968. Alabama Governor George Wallace, another frequent guest, often commented on the war.

When broadcasts featuring "administration spokesmen" are added to those

where "political supporters" were guests, almost half the news-interview programs (44%) featured participants who supported war policies. Consistent with other measures of support for administration policies, ABC's Issues and Answers included the highest proportion of programs featuring policy supporters (49%). The pattern is also consistent for the other networks, as CBS's Face the Nation included about the same proportion of supporters (41%) as NBC's Meet the Press (43%).

Additionally, about five percent of all the news-interview programs featured current or former officials in Southeast Asian countries. Most of these guests supported U.S. policy, as their political livelihood depended on support from the United States government.

In contrast with the number of supporters of war policies, only 23 percent of the programs featured opponents of the war. Relatively few (5%) were lay dissenters such as peace movement leaders, but among such guests was the president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Tom Hayden (who later married actress Jane Fonda, also a prominent anti-war activist) and "New Mobe" leader Sam Browne (who later worked in the Carter administration). More frequently, however, prominent political critics such as Senators J. William Fulbright, George McGovern or Eugene McCarthy were guests. Appearances by such political opponents of the war accounted for 28 percent of all news-interview programs. The proportion of news-interview programs featuring opponents to the war was similar among the three networks, but ABC again had the lowest percentage (29%) of the three, NBC had the highest (36%) and, as in other measures, CBS was in the middle (33%).

In many instances (15%), guests did not represent a clear stance regarding war policies. Such programs were categorized as neutral analyses of U.S. policy. For example, the July 18, 1965 broadcast of Issues and Answers

included two guests, Representative Gerald Ford and Senator Frank Church, who were considered to have balanced each other's viewpoints in the program. Another example is the Face the Nation broadcast on May 31, 1970, when Robert Haack, President of the New York Stock Exchange, discussed the war's effect on the U.S. economy.

Finally, programs that were categorized as dealing with the peace negotiations or the prospects for peace (2%) featured guests who were involved in those discussions but were not identified with the administration in power or its detractors at the time of the broadcast. For instance, former Chief U.S. Peace Negotiator W. Averell Harriman appeared on Meet the Press on January 21, 1969, shortly after Richard Nixon took office as president. One of Harriman's negotiating table adversaries, Xuan Thuy, a representative of North Vietnam, was the guest on several programs during 1972.

Trends in Policy Support and Opposition

Between 1960 and 1967, when the United States was becoming committed to a military conflict in Southeast Asia, spokesmen for administration policies and their supporters clearly dominated as guests on news-interview programs. Between 1965 and 1967, when the number of U.S. military personnel in Vietnam was escalating sharply,[14] there was also a considerable increase in appearances by administration spokesmen and supporters. As shown in Figure 3, this increase was especially great during 1965 and 1966, but the number of such appearances, especially by administration spokesmen, was already high as early as 1963. On the other hand, no appearances were made by opponents of war policies until 1963. Even then, the number was considerably lower than that for supporters.

FIGURE 3. ABOUT HERE

It was not until 1967, when the number of military personnel in Vietnam was near its highest level during the war, that we can observe a peak in the number of appearances by opponents to the war and the administration's policies. Conversely, the peak in policy supporter appearances came in 1966 -- well before the highest level of military commitment.

An emphatic decline in appearances by war policy supporters occurred during 1967 and 1968, as the Johnson administration ended. During this same period, appearances by opponents also dropped, but they nevertheless surpassed those made by policy supporters. However, in 1969, when the Nixon administration began, appearances by opponents declined while appearances by spokesmen and political supporters of the new administration rose. Yet, the drop in appearances by opponents lasted but a year. Beginning in 1970, and increasing through 1973, the number of guests opposed to the war dominated the appearances made by supporters of war policy.

Summary

During the early part of the Vietnam war, when the U.S. commitment to military action in Southeast Asia was being made, support for the administration dominated the network news-interview programs. Peaks in three measures of support (direction of favorability; hawks and doves; administration supporters and opponents) came before the highest level of military commitment, however. Later, opponents began to dominate the news-interview programs. Thus, the networks appear to have followed public opinion in the scheduling of supporters and opponents of administration war policies.

The ABC news-interview program, Issues and Answers, was the most supportive of the three. More hawks appeared on that program, especially between 1960 and 1970, than on the other networks. The direction of support

for administration policies was the most positive of the three networks as well. Finally, ABC featured a greater percentage of administration spokesmen and supporters than the other networks.

On the other hand, CBS was the most consistent of the networks in terms of featuring hawks and doves on Face the Nation. NBC's Meet the Press was the least consistent of the programs from year to year in scheduling appearances by hawks and doves and in scheduling administration spokesmen, supporters and opponents. But aside from these fluctuations, there was little overall difference between CBS and NBC.

A prominent critic of television news, Edith Efron, has charged that selectivity is the cause of news bias. The news, in other words, is distorted because of what is selected for broadcast. A point of view, as taken by the producer of the program, screens out certain relevant facts.[15] The Efron thesis was put to a test in this analysis of news-interview programs. The selection of news-makers who appeared on these programs should indicate any bias toward one or another point of view regarding the Vietnam war.

We found no evidence that news-interview programs were biased against the administration's conduct of the war. Clearly, there were ample occasions for representatives of the administration to explain and defend policies. There were also many opportunities provided to opponents of these policies. However, supporters of the war were scheduled more frequently, and much earlier during the war than opponents were.

The pattern for news-interview programs was very similar to that for news-magazine articles about the Vietnam war. Funkhouser found that the number of such articles peaked in 1966 and declined steadily thereafter,[16] exactly as news-interview programs dealing with the war did. Funkhouser

attributes variations in news coverage to the "adaptation" of the news media to the stream of events by which a pattern of events ceases to be "news" after a while.[17] Similarly, changing public attitudes regarding the war may have affected the content of news-interview programs since during the later periods in the war many more appearances were made by news-makers opposed to the war than supportive of it. Certianly, these patterns support Adams and Ferber's observation that the adroitness of program producers in scheduling guests already in the limelight of current controversy was an important influence on content.[18]

Like Adams and Ferber, we can not report that we observed a balance in news-interview program treatment of the Vietnam war issue, but there were no real extremes in the treatment either. The programs tended instead to reflect the status quo, or current public opinion.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See, for instance, James Burnham, "A War Distorted," New York Times, April 9, 1971, p. 36 and Malcolm Warner, "TV's First War," Newsweek, August 30, 1965, p. 32. Perhaps a more apt description was that by New Yorker critic Michael Arlen, who called it the "living room war." See Michael J. Arlen, Living Room War (New York: Viking Press, 1969), pp. 108-111.

[2]Michael J. Arlen, "The Road From Highway One," Columbia Journalism Review 15 (July/August 1975): 22-26; George Bailey, "Interpretive Reporting of the Vietnam War by Anchormen," Journalism Quarterly 35 (Summer 1976): 319-324; _____, "Television War: Trends in Network Coverage of Vietnam, 1965-1970," Journal of Broadcasting 20 (Spring 1976): 147-158; _____ and Lawrence W. Lichty, "Rough Justice on a Saigon Street: A Gatekeeper Study of NBC's Tet Execution Film," Journalism Quarterly 49 (Summer 1972): 221-229, 238; Edward Jay Epstein, "The Televised War" in Between Fact and Fiction: The Problem of Journalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), pp. 210-232; Larry Lichty, "The Night at the End of the Tunnel," Film Comment (July/August 1975): 32-35; _____, "The War We Watched on Television: A Study in Progress," American Film Institute Quarterly 4 (Winter 1973): 29-37; Richard A. Pride and Gary L. Wamsley, "Symbol Analysis of Network Coverage of Laos Incursion," Journalism Quarterly 49 (Winter 1972): 635-640, 647; Frank Russo, "A Study of Bias in TV Coverage of the Vietnam War: 1969 and 1970," Public Opinion Quarterly 35 (Winter 1971-72): 539-543. Yet another study analyzed CBS news specials and documentaries from 1965 to 1969, examining program content in relation to the decision-making process at the network. See Thomas M. McNulty, "Vietnam Specials: Policy and Content," Journal of Communication 25 (Autumn 1975): 173-180.

[3]William C. Adams and Paul H. Ferber, "Television Interview Shows: The Politics of Visibility," Journal of Broadcasting 21 (Spring 1977): 141-151.

[4]Marvin Barrett, ed., Survey of Broadcast Journalism 1968-1969 (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1969), pp. 17-18.

[5]_____., The Politics of Broadcasting (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973), pp. 41-43.

[6]_____., Year of Challenge, Year of Crisis (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970), p. 53.

[7]Adams and Ferber, "Television Interview Shows."

[8]These observations are generally supported by Gallup Opinion Poll respondents who thought the president was "doing a good job" in handling the Vietnam war. The percentage of positive respondents generally declined toward the end of the Johnson administration. Positive responses regarding Nixon's handling of the war dropped after 1969, as did the tone of the news-interview programs. See Sandra N. Kautz, "President Johnson and President Nixon -- Their Use of Television and the Relationship to Gallup Poll Ratings" (M.A. thesis, The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1973), pp. 56, 80.

[9]Albert H. Cantril and Charles W. Roll, Jr., Hopes and Fears of the American People (New York: Universe Books, 1971), pp. 37-38.

[10]Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p. 361.

[11]Robert Cirino, Power to Persuade: Mass Media and the News (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 194.

[12]Bailey, "Television War," 158.

[13]Based on percentages of respondents to Gallup Opinion Poll questions about whether they supported the U.S. Military involvement in Vietnam, as reported in John E. Meuller, War, Presidents and Public Opinion (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), pp. 52-55.

[14]See figures compiled by Herbert Y. Schandler, The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 352.

[15]Edith Efron, "Do the Networks Know What They Are Doing?" in Mass News, ed. David J. Leroy and Christopher H. Sterling (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 136.

[16]G. Ray Funkhouser, "Trends in Media Coverage of the Issues of the '60's," Journalism Quarterly 50 (Autumn 1973): 533-538.

[17]_____., "The Issues of the Sixties: An Exploratory Study in the Dynamics of Public Opinion," Public Opinion Quarterly 37 (Spring 1973): 63-75.

[18]Adams and Ferber, "Television Interview Shows," 142.

TABLE 1
HAWKS AND DOVES

Figures show the number of "hawks" and "doves" appearing on each network's news-interview programs during each of three five-year periods. The percentage of hawks of the total hawks and doves is also shown.

	ABC Issues and Answers			CBS Face the Nation			NBC Meet the Press			All Three		
	Hawks	Doves	% Hawks	Hawks	Doves	% Hawks	Hawks	Doves	% Hawks	Hawks	Doves	% Hawks
1960-1965*	27	4	87%	16	1	94%	14	1	93%	57	6	90%
1966-1970	58	27	68%	55	33	63%	43	20	68%	156	80	66%
1971-1975	10	19	34%	20	26	43%	23	31	43%	53	76	41%
Total	95	50	66%	91	60	60%	80	52	61%	266	162	62%
Ratio of Hawks to Doves:		(2:1)			(1.5:1)			(1.5:1)			(1.6:1)	

*Actually, 1961-1965. There were no Vietnam-related news-interview programs identified for 1960.

TABLE 2

SUBJECTS OF NEWS-INTERVIEW PROGRAMS

Figures show the percentage* of subjects related to the Vietnam war on the commercial networks' regularly scheduled news-interview programs broadcast between 1961 and 1979.

	ABC Issues and Answers	CBS Face The Nation	NBC Meet The Press	Total	
Administration Spokesmen	34%	30%	30%	31%	(44%)
Political Supporters	15	11	13	13	
Political Opponents	27	27	30	28	(33%)
Domestic Opposition	2	6	6	5	
U.S. Policy (neutral)	14	15	15	15	
Southeast Asian Political Leaders	3	7	3	5	
Peace Talks/Prospects	2	2	2	2	
Other	3	2	2	2	
TOTAL*	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	(153)	(177)	(151)	(481)	

*Totals may exceed 100% due to rounding

FIGURE 1. Direction of News-Interview Programs

Figures below show the relative direction of positive support or opposition to administration policies and the Vietnam war as determined by overall tone of support found in news-interview programs.

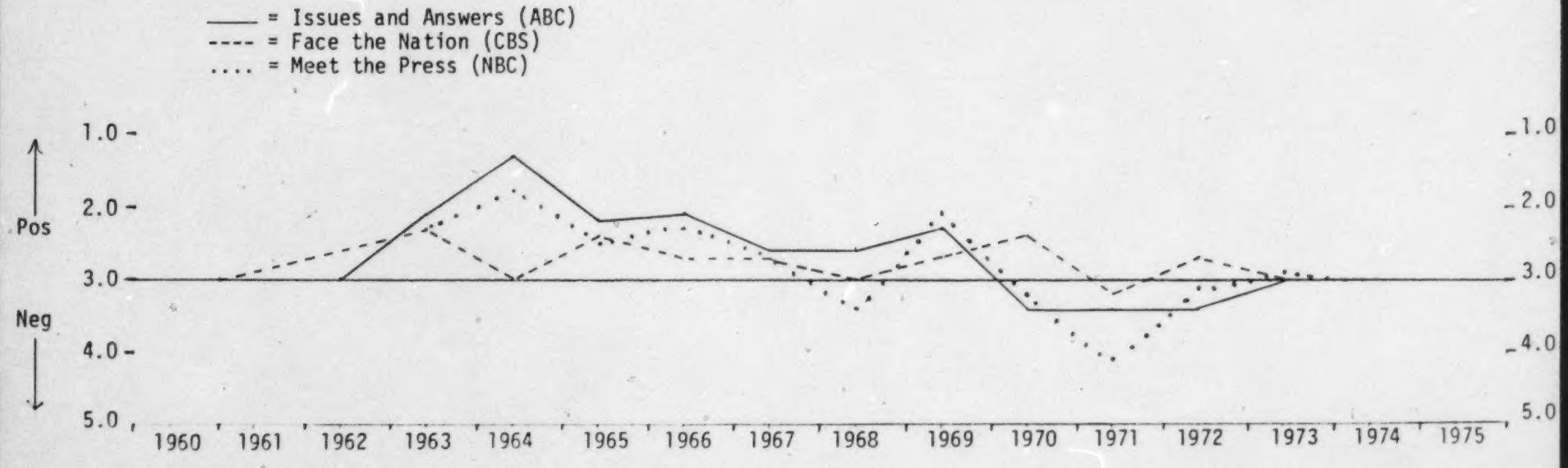


FIGURE 2. Trends in Hawks and Doves on News-Interview Programs

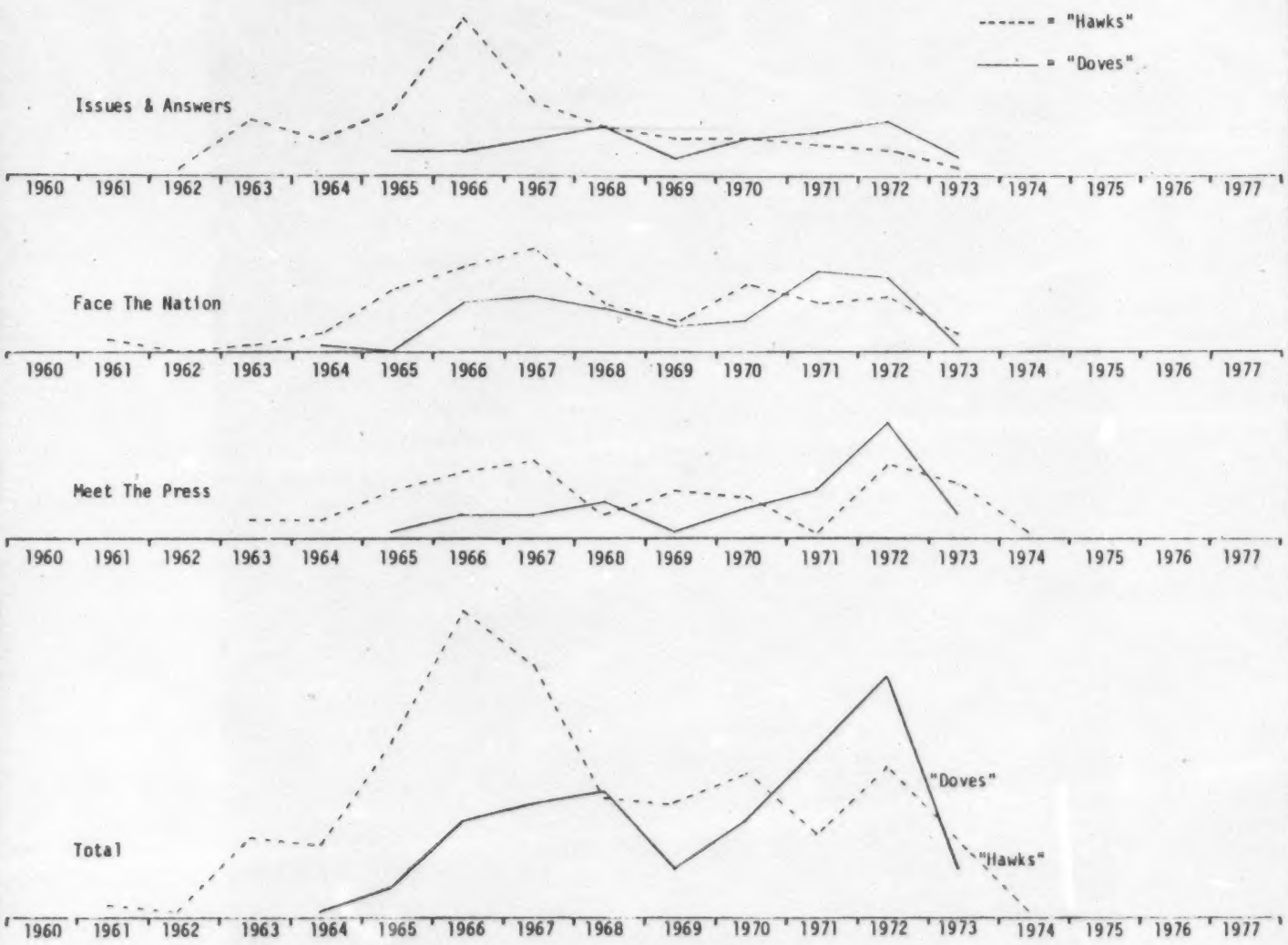
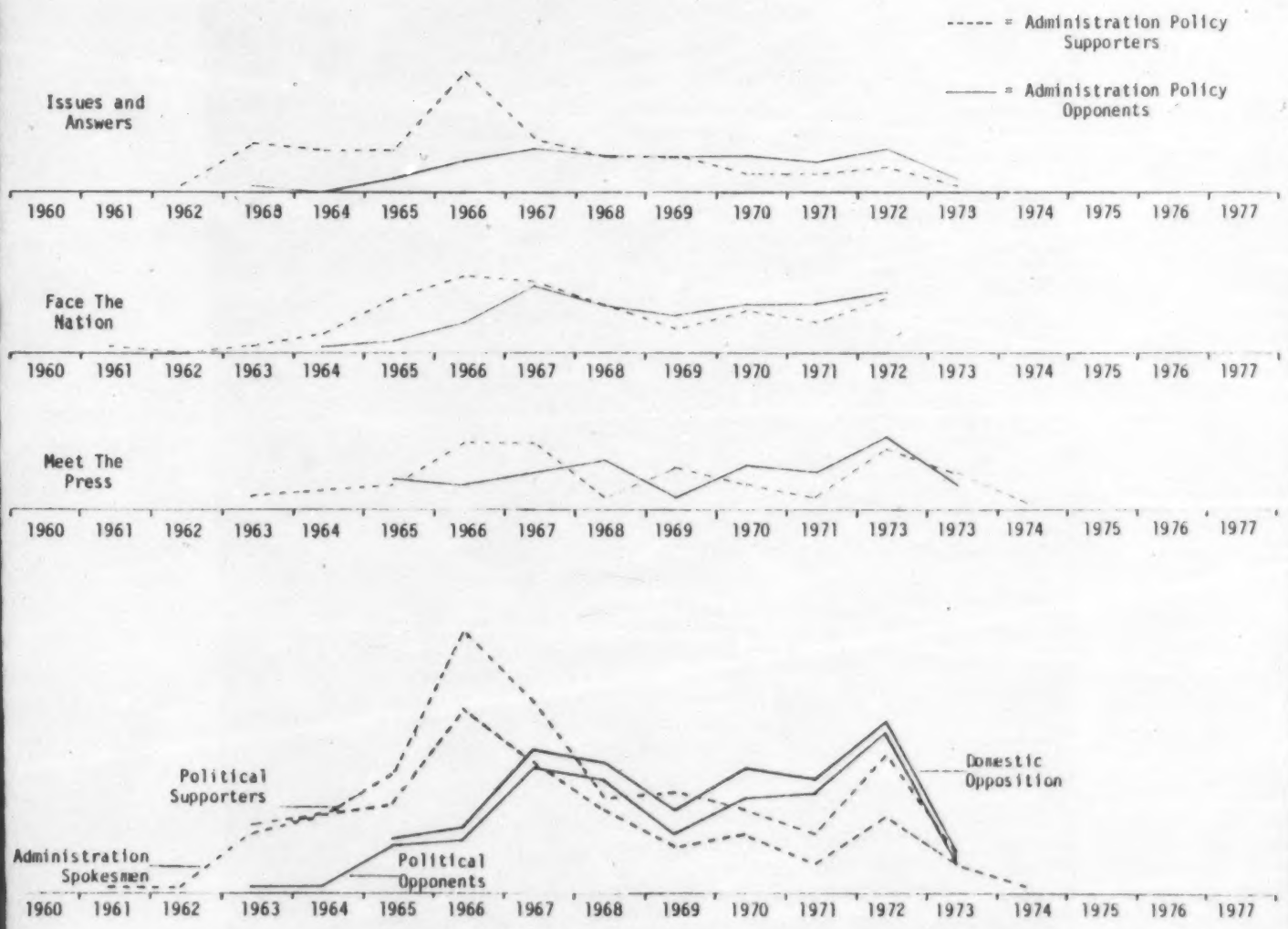


FIGURE 3. Trends in Support and Opposition to Administration War Policies


----- = Administration Policy Supporters
——— = Administration Policy Opponents
Issues and Answers
Face The Nation
Meet The Press
1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977
Political Supporters
Administration Spokesmen
Political Opponents
Domestic Opposition